

/159 cont./

764 The corpse is lowered into the grave with ropes, with the greatest care taken not to bang it or lower it roughly to the bottom of the grave. This would mean an offense to the dead man, who in some way would show his annoyance at this lack of care, which is in itself an insult, and the relatives would feel considerably offended at the want of respect shown to one who was of their blood and at a time so important to the Goejino as that of burying a kinsman. It represents, to his way of thinking, an insult almost as great as to refuse to dig his grave, to speak ill of a dead relative, or to pronounce his name.

764
763 The same individual who digs the grave covers it with the excavated earth, doing his work with extreme care. Then he goes to his home where he is submitted for some time to a purification ceremonial. The people who formed the procession return to their homes, after shooting off their firearms while the burial is in progress with the idea of frightening off all evil spirits. In times past they shot arrows repeatedly. Upon return the relatives also go through a purification ceremony, and generally, gathered together, they slaughter an animal for themselves from among those which had not been presented nor had belonged to the deceased.

764 For the dead man they place a supply of food and drink in the grave (his favorite food), and if while alive he liked to get drunk, they place an abundance of liquor. His most valued personal utensils, especially his chamber pot, an indication [SN] that the owner was of high status, are placed on his grave, as are his cups and dishes, which also give prestige to the dead man.

765 During a more or less lengthy period his closest relatives go frequently to visit his grave, taking with them food which they eat over it, after weeping there for a long time and asking the dead person to join them. On the eighth day after his death it is mandatory /160/ to make such a visit, later, at the end of each lunar month after the occurrence of the death. These visits are made with more frequency when the relatives believe

[180 cont.]

that they have felt the spirit of the departed, which to them is an indication that they have not complied fully with the funeral ritual or that something was missing from the post-mortem rites or that he lacks some material necessities beyond the grave. For this reason they take him food and drink. Another practice is that any Goajiro -- man or woman -- who passes by the cemetery must come, above all if he knows there has been a recent burial, and cry a little over the graves, recalling his own troubles and those of his clan. In the period immediately following the burial, the relatives of the dead person light bonfires in his honor during the night in order to illumine the road he must follow until he arrives at his future home, and so that his spirit will not continue to wander, like that of a murderer or a suicide, or become harmful. In Santander del Sur this custom existed in the distant past but nowadays the peasants limit themselves to placing a candle inside the sleeve of the deceased's shroud, so that he may light his path.

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M The Goajiro family remember their relative for a long time. Every sunrise before starting their day's work, they weep for him and the others of their clan group who have died (Cf. Chap. II, Cult of the dead).

When some time has passed after the burial of their relative (four or five months), two women return to his grave, almost secretly, his mother and his most beloved aunt, or his first wife. They reopen the grave until they find the body, raise it halfway up the grave, putting earth inside and then re-covering it. They say the object of this is to avoid the skeleton's being dispersed at such a depth when the exhumation takes place. These two women, after having carried out this labor, go through a special purification. About two years after death comes the time for exhumation, when all the relatives come together. They send out runners to announce the exhumation. All come to this ceremony in which the slaughter and distribution of animals and of drink is repeated; it takes place in the house of the deceased or in the cemetery itself,

/160 cont./

765 where an enramada /bough-covered shelter/ is erected if the
769 house is too far away. The remains are put into an earthen-
ware urn which is placed on a hammock around which they all
congregate, also on hammocks, the female friends and relatives
weeping over the dead man a second time. A new grave is
dug in the clan cemetery, in which his remains are deposited.
At the present time it is customary for each small family of
means to have a common funerary urn /161/ in which the bone
remains of all the immediate consanguineous members are
accumulated.

The exhumation of the remains is a labor entrusted to the
very close relatives of the dead man who were much attached
to him. By this action they are offered a family honor which,
like the digging of his grave, is never refused. These indi-
viduals, two in number, open up the grave; and one, his
body totally covered with a robe and his hands wrapped in a
cloth, scratches in the earth to find the bones. As the region
is so dry the bodies are marvelously preserved. First of all he
brings out the skull with much respect amid the silence of the
others gathered around. He cleans it carefully, showing his
affection for the deceased in each of these details, and then
he passes it to his companion, together with the rest of the
bones. This assistant is covered, especially his face, and his
work consists in placing the remains in the urn destined before-
[173] hand for such a purpose. These two persons, once having
finished their operation, carefully purify themselves and for
some time after follow a special diet.

In these exhumation ceremonies, the relatives of the
[262] exhumed person submit to the same dietary proscription of not
partaking of the meat of the slaughtered animals, and they re-
ceive the sympathy of their relatives and friends, who have
come together again for this purpose.

768 A funeral custom still exists but has been weakened in
some sectors that are more in contact with whites and the in-
fluence of the mission, and that is to abandon the house where
the sick man died immediately after the body has been buried,

[41 cont.]

764 1. The first of these types refers to the custom established
762 among them of sacrificing, during the wake of any member of
the community, a number of animals belonging to the dead man
(cows, bulls, goats, sheep), the meat of which is divided among
those attending the wake along with the corresponding drink,
which in these days is rum but in times past was chicha.

[767] The reason given for the sacrificing of animals during a
wake in answer to the question is that this is done in deference to
the guests and especially to those whom we could call "profes-
sional mourners," who spend all day and all night moaning over
the corpse. But on observing certain practices and particularly
certain taboos regarding the meat of these sacrificed animals,
one has to think rather of the ritual character of the sacrifice.

262 It is a fact that the relatives — sons, daughters, nephews
764 [and nieces, sabrinós], brothers [and sisters, hermanos] etc. —
763 of the deceased cannot eat the meat of animals sacrificed during
782 the wake or during the later ceremony of secondary burial, as this,
according to their belief, would be equivalent to eating their
dead kinsman's flesh. This taboo, imposed on the deceased's
relatives, serves to prove to us — so far as it is possible to de-
duce — the ritual aspect of the sacrifice of the dead man's
livestock, stock which on being slaughtered takes on the same
untouchable or magical quality, which the individual takes
on when he disappears from the world of the living and enters
the universe of the dead. [42] To put this more plainly, the
animals sacrificed are contaminated by their dead owner.

• [765] The untouchable quality of the animal sacrificed at the
wake or in the ceremony that accompanies the second burial
is supported by the following fact. The belief exists in La
[843] Guajira that if during pregnancy the mother or the father of the
[753] future child is present at the exhuming of a corpse, the child
is born sickly, suffers from permanent diarrhea and night sweats,
755 and gets more and more pale and progressively thinner. Its
765 illness continues to get worse, and none of the familiar remedies
have the desired effect. The parents then resort to the follow-
ing system of curing (a system which with some variations is
also common among the people of the town of Santander).
They wait until there is an exhumation ceremony, and then

[42 cont.]

755 they put the child inside one of the animals sacrificed for the
765 occasion, taking care that the body of the animal is still warm,
with the object that the child enter in the warmth.

If they cannot take the sick child to the place where the ritual ceremony is to be performed, the parents take a bone of the sacrificed animal, let it dry, and later cook it in a large quantity of water, with which they subsequently bathe the body of the child. The successful effect should be attained at the first bath or after several successive ones.

755 There is another system of curing this sickness, which the Guajiro call "the chill of the tomb." The presence of the parents at the wake has infected the unborn child with the coldness of the tomb which the dead man is about to occupy. For this reason, the important thing is to drive out the cold, for which they resort to the substitute (when there is no possibility of an exhumation ceremony in the near future) of digging a hole in the earth, approximately the size of the child, placing him in it and then covering him up to the neck with the displaced earth.

755 In any case, as can be seen, the second method is no
764 more than a substitute for the required and definitive remedy.
979 In the first case there are two magic associations: the participation, passive and involuntary, of the dead man in the transmission of the sickness; and the other, more active, of the cure through the sacrificed animal, which, as we noted, participates in the taboo by virtue of the sacrifice. If it were simply a matter of the cold-hot association, that is, if the idea were to drive the cold out of the sick child's body, the most practical and rapid way would be the third, that is, to put the child's body in an excavated hole and cover it with the displaced earth, so that heating by the sun may bring about the desired effect, particularly if one takes into account the high temperatures that are reached during [43] the day in the semidesert of La Guajira. But there is something more; there is the magic character of the ceremony of the sacrifice -- which is undoubtedly diminishing through the effects of acculturation -- but of which there remains at least the idea of utilizing the magic power of the sacrificed animal, or part

[85 cont.]

766 head downward, and then they cover it with a piece of another clay olla, new, usually with a base. The urn is buried in the [824] woods at the foot of a special tree called in Guajiro burrowé "within us," etymologically), with the idea that the other children that are born will not continue dying. No special ceremony accompanies the burial of the child, which must be carried out by the maternal uncle, since neither the father nor the mother may be present because it is believed that if they should be all their other children would also die as they were born.

• 765 When the first-born dies, and the work of its burial has
766 been completed with, the mother is put through the following procedure: She is hung in a hammock for three days in a closed room (it is really a small house made especially for the purpose). After three days have passed, she is unslung from the hammock, but she has to continue in seclusion for a further five [834] months (five lunar months), and the husband is prohibited from visiting her, with the idea of avoiding sexual contact. After this seclusion the husband may return, and they resume normal married life. During the time she is in the hammock, the [862] woman is not allowed to receive any food except a medicine called hawapi, which serves for fattening. This medicine is a [878] mixture of scraped roots dissolved in cold water [86] and is drunk after being strained. The wife receives this medicine from her mother, who acts as her nurse.

[891] In other words, the mother, by reason of the death of her first-born, has to repeat the complete cycle of seclusion as at the initiation of young women when they reach puberty. The ceremonial is the same, seclusion, taking of fattening medicine, sexual exclusion of the man, and in general all contact or relations with him, etc.

764 If in spite of these precautions the next child should also die, the previous cycle is not followed, but the baby is buried with all due ceremony. A fiesta is arranged for the burial, a wake is held with the usual distribution of liquor, and animals which the maternal and paternal grandparents supply are sacrificed. The mother undergoes a new special treatment but without those of seclusion.

INDIANA TERRITORY, CA. OF CALIFORNIA.

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country, a site chosen in some solitary wild spot, and surrounded by high walls of mud. At the death of Salazar, a Pachuco from Arroyo Cañon, 120 fat men were killed, and the Indians did not pay for the liquor drunk. Two of the men finally meeting for the first time after the death of a relation, went squat down on their heels in front of each other, and sob and weep, for at least a quarter of an hour, the louder the better.

The Indians are very peaceable in eating. Calling at a ranch, visitors must wait until spoken to, if this is not done soon, it is evident they are not welcome, or else away. The words used never seem to be the same. The most frequent are "latishipi" (you have come), or "Higuapi" (so you have arrived). In eating and drinking the Indians are extremely cleanly. The principals all eat separately, receiving their allowance in an earthenware dish, passed, with a good spoon, pushed. The women, with an addition, serve for the lower members of the family. Water is invariably given after, to wash the mouth and fingers. Even if a drink of milk is taken, a little water is broiled after. As to their hospitality, it has, I believe, been rather exaggerated. There is no doubt that the Gaspar is more hospitable than the Archaic of the Sierra Nevada, but then he is also far more cunning and diplomatic, and his hospitality is a mere question of self-interest. He will willingly give a sheep or a goat as a present, provided there is a chance of claiming an ox in return. He is chivalrous in his donations. When he does give a sheep, it is a fat one, his best, and given whole, without reserve, skin and all. If eating, on the arrival of a stranger, he may offer food to him, but certainly will give if requested, as is the custom, always begging. One thing a guest may rely upon receiving in a ranch is a hammock, even if the owner has to sleep on the ground. Lastly, among curious customs, is that of parents assuming the name of their children with the prefix *uaki* or *saki* if the father, and *ni* or *ni* if the mother. Thus the father of Juan would call himself "Nashijuan," or if a daughter, "Nashijana." The mother of Juan would be called "Nijuan," and if a daughter, "Nijana."

The dress of the Gaspar is extremely simple, and probably similar to his savage luxury of three centuries ago, when Allinger devastated the land, except that his own quiet blacks and browns—due to his cunning in the art of dyeing—have given way to the gorgeous blue, red, and yellows of Marquisan wool. His every day working costume is simply a strip of cloth from three inches wide upwards, called *serica*. When paying visits, receiving company, or travelling, he dons his best—a large kinichth with many folds, and the home-woven mantle *abi*, with a magnificent *sash*, *si-ica*. The mantle is managed with wonderful elegance, now letting it fall about him in voluptuous folds, or dropping it from his shoulders, and tucking it into his immense *sash*, where his arrows are carried. The hair, which is jet black, thick, and cut short, is kept back in a very æsthetic style by a ring or crown,

INDISCREET INVESTIGATION

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I have had to anticipate to tell how the secret of the arrows' effect was discovered. Let me now go back to where we were sitting on our stools talking with the Indians. It was late in the day and Francisco suggested that we should stay the night and go on at daybreak to another place where lived some prosperous Indians who had many materials and earthenware vessels. They had hammocks that we could borrow. It was a good suggestion and our hosts were more than agreeable. They wanted to vacate one of their huts, but we preferred to sleep in one of their open sheds. It was cool and, being tired, we fell asleep while the Indians were still sitting round the fire.

We were awakened by plaintive singing. It was still night. The Guajiro are excessively early risers. In the tropics you become accustomed to getting up at daybreak, but there on the peninsula everybody woke at three o'clock, when there were still a couple of hours of darkness left. Three o'clock was even a suitable visiting-hour. They liked to take advantage of the coolest part of the day, which was from three to six in the morning. The singing came from the big hut beside us. It was followed by a spoken rigmarole. The whole was as dreary as a funeral mass, and the voice was an old woman's. I discovered that it was a sort of pagan morning prayer for the children, used all over Guajira, in which an old woman recalled the memory of departed relations. If any of these had been killed and left unavenged, she would not neglect to remind the children of the fact and point out the guilty person. It ended with yet another wailing song.

What the old woman told them about their ancestors and injuries received was impressed upon the children's minds by hearing it repeated every morning in this way. [628] Thus is a blood feud perpetuated from generation to generation.

We made ourselves porridge and took our departure as day was breaking. Then we tramped on through the sand to the next rancheria. There only the women were at home, but as it is the women who make the things we wished to see, that suited us quite well. The huts were larger than

7: Bellinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957

SC13 Coajiro SC13

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A Coajiro man, dressed and painted as a woman. He lived with another man and performed all the tasks of the housewife



Little girl with gold beads around her neck and ankles

After-burial: woman weeping by the urn containing the dead man's bones

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[Facing p. 112]

764 hands to their faces. From one and all rose the lugubrious, shrill lament that had to sound uninterrupted as long as the dead man was above ground. (For some time after the funeral, the man's nearest relatives would begin the day with a song of lament.) After some time the wailers nearest to the bier began to make way for others, and then we too began lamenting, imitating the sound as best we could, as politeness required that every guest should.

One of the men now turned and pulled the cloak from his face. It was our host. He was very glad to see us and, above all, seemed to be flattered that my wife had come. He was already slightly under the weather, swaying a little on his feet, and in one hand he held an enamel chamberpot. He looked so comical that my wife had to hold her handkerchief over her mouth so that none should see what difficulty she was having in keeping a straight face. Our host thought she was very moved and at once ordered one of his fattest sheep to be given her to 'dry her tears', as it is called. He always called her majayura, maiden, remarking: 'She is far too young and lovely to be married.' This, of course, was meant as a compliment. He added that he knew very well what we usually ate. He knew that we were from the same part of the world as the monks and that these people lived on bread, sugar and potatoes. He had tasted them in Nazaret. But perhaps we also liked meat? We assured him that we did, and he promised us large pieces of beef and as much maize beer as we wished. Then he had to go and attend to his other guests.

Burials are big affairs. A good proportion of the dead person's livestock has to be slaughtered to accompany him into the hereafter. The guests feast on this meat, and afterwards each is given some to take home. We walked round to look at the many camps, some under cactus trees, others in the open. There were several hundred Indians assembled there. Everywhere sheep were being slaughtered, meat was being roasted and people were feasting. One old woman was stuffing congealed blood from a calabash with both hands. The whole place smelt of blood, maize beer and spirits. Here and there someone was galloping on a horse. Many of

766 was wrapped in forty-eight beautifully woven cloaks each worth the equivalent of £20-£25. Despite this the atmosphere was not pleasant and during the feast they sent to Venezuela for so much eau de cologne that it was said to have cost thirty thousand bolivares. What we were attending was thus quite a simple funeral, but it must have cost several hundred pounds.

764 On the third day the body, wrapped in hides, was placed on a horse and taken out to the burial place, where one of [55] the closest male relatives had dug a grave—a great honour that. Everyone accompanied the body. The men drank copiously as they walked along. The dead man was laid in the grave, and some of the sand that had been dug out of it was carefully shovelled in; then they let down food and drink, including a large jar of spirits, and—to our amazement—the enamel pot followed. Indians who have had a lot to do with white people like to take such pots on their journeys, and apparently it was considered that one might be needed even on a man's last journey.

[775] After this everyone fired their guns into the air, and those who did not have firearms shot arrows. That was done in the hope of driving away any malevolent spirits who might be trying to worm their way back. A large fire was lit on the grave. This would burn every night for some time to come, in order to light the soul on its journey.

765 Later, the dead man's relatives would go out now and again to lament and take food and drink, which latter they would invite the dead man to share with them. Then, after a couple of years, the man's bones would be dug up and the after-funeral celebrated. We attended several of these; 765 this second ceremony is entrusted to a few female relatives, 767 who, swathed in tunics from head to foot, take hold of the bones with bits of cloth. The skull and skeleton are cleaned and laid on a cloth, in which they are tied up and lowered into a jar and this is taken to the house of grief, where another, though shorter funeral feast is held. After that the jar is buried again.

767 Those who have dug up the bones and all who have touched a dead person, must not eat with their hands for

A WAKE

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several days afterwards, but have to be fed. They also have to keep to a diet for a while, a precaution that, like the cloaks they are wrapped in while digging up the bones, is to protect them against spirits. 767

In the old days the house in which a person died was abandoned. Nowadays that is only done if the person has been murdered. 768

I have come across this after-funeral among several Indian tribes farther south, in particular the Motilon in the Andes, neighbours of the Guajiro, and the Indians of the Llanos plains around the Orinoco. It seems a peculiar custom to us, but it is a sort of memorial ceremony, a feast of remembrance devoted to the dead person, who is thus not forgotten so quickly by the Indians, as is often the case with us. 765 171

The animals killed at a man's funeral are to accompany him into the hereafter and enable him to maintain his position there. His immediate relatives must not eat of this meat, which is all given to the guests, who cook it and feast on it. 764

Different in character is the sacrifice of some creature, a black sheep or a brown cow, which the piache recommends when he has dreamed that someone is in danger of being murdered. Here the animal is being killed in place of the threatened man, the goat or cow acting as substitute so that the human can escape his fate. Presumably, what used to happen was that the person threatened had to go out and kill some wild animal, a deer for example. The custom of slaughtering cattle at a funeral originates from the change in the Indians' way of life that resulted from their making cattle-rearing their main occupation. Earlier the dead person was given other grave-goods to enable him to manage in the life hereafter, including ornaments and that sort of thing. In the pre-Columbian era quantities of polished stone beads and tuma were placed in the graves. Then, when fortunes began to be reckoned in cattle and horses, it was obvious that the dead person must have cattle to accompany him. To the Guajiro, as to the general run of Indians, there is no such thing as natural death. Were it not for the dangerous world of the spirits and evil enchanter people 751 782 787 778 761 776

A WAKE

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him that can give the alarm. For a long time he has to refrain from all association with his friends and keep away from feasts. In the end, if agreement on compensation is not reached with the dead man's family, he will have to leave the district for a period of years. This precaution is to protect the slayer from the spirit of the man he killed, which would look for him in his normal haunts and would not recognize him under the new conditions, but it is also a protection against the dead man's nearest relatives, who will thirst for vengeance as long as compensation has not been agreed and paid. 775
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We mounted and rode away from our first burial feast. On the fringe of the area stood six Indians armed, some with guns, others with bows and arrows. Their task was to shoot after all departing guests in order to scare off any dangerous spirits that might be intending to keep them company. Here, a deputy-host presented us with a live heifer. Every guest was to have a present of an animal according to his rank. We also had the meat that had been distributed that morning. It was considered quite all right either to eat it or to take it to eat on the way home. Several others were doing as we and there was a long line of departing guests, the men on horseback, the women mostly on donkeys. We all kept together for quite a distance. 775
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Spirits rose as the heat increased, for drink had been handed out along with the meat, the Indians believing, as did the Creoles, that spirits were the best protection against the dangers of the hot sun. 765
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A young Indian rode up to us. He wore a cloak with a beautiful pattern and was mounted on a splendid mare, which showed that he was of well-to-do family. He was in a bad mood, however, having been forgotten in the distribution of parting gifts and had not been given even a sheep. For that reason he was highly incensed with his neglectful hosts, whom he obviously scarcely knew. [578]

We rode past an old man on foot dragging a calf behind him. The old man was obviously sober, but he kept muttering imprecations to himself. He too had been forgotten. [578]

● 765 The old man, however, was familiar with the customs of
55 olden days and had taken what they had forgotten to give
him, calculating generously in his own favour. Strictly he
was entitled to no more than a kid, if that, poor relation
that he was; but he had appropriated one of his host's
calves.

Our young Indian friend thought this an excellent idea,
and as we happened to be riding past a herd of goats
belonging to the house of mourning, he asked me to lend
him my shot-gun, dismounted and shot two goats, which
he then lashed on to his pack-animal. He paid no attention
to the protests of the slave guarding the herd, who of
course did not dare do anything to anyone so well
dressed and so obviously a person of rank. He gruffly told
the slave that he had the law on his side. This put the young
Indian in a better humour, and he took a smiling leave of us.

765 We were invited to several other funeral feasts while we
57A were in Guajira. Both the actual burial and the after-funeral
were in the same style. Often they were quite gay affairs—
especially the repeat performance, when the grief was not
so intense even with the immediate relatives. Often fights
resulted. On the way home from Mauana's dance we had
met people on their way back from a funeral who were
quarrelsome. It sometimes happens that a person attending
a funeral is killed. He is then taken home and most of the
guests accompany him to continue celebrating in that new
house of sorrow.

The funeral ritual is observed strictly and in detail.
Children must learn it early and therefore are allowed to go
to such feasts.

On the more important events the medicine man gives
advice and directions, so let us now turn to him.

586 minus an amount considered equivalent for the sexual right he had exercised. If a woman dies in her first childbirth the husband may demand the full return of the bride price (Simons, 1885, p. 792, however, states that the wife's relatives demand compensation from the husband).

586 Adultery entails divorce with full return of the bride price. It rarely occurs, however, as the wife will be treated badly by her own relatives.

837 At his death a man's wives are inherited by his brother, and next by his sister's sons; the women may avoid this by making a payment equivalent to their bride price. If he is of the Catholic faith his children may claim to be his legal heirs, which leads to conflict with the maternal nephews. (See Social Organization, p. 374.)

562 The influence of women in political affairs is sometimes noticeable.
622 There are cases of female chiefs, and women are respected enough so as to be able to intervene and stop brawls.

764 Death.—Funerals are accompanied by festivities which last days or even weeks, according to the wealth of the family. There are some differences in the funeral ceremonies which are apparently associated with the particular sibs. These funeral feasts afford the best opportunity for display of wealth, and more than 1,000 head of livestock may be butchered. Every mourner who comes to the feast contributes animals for slaughter and continues to do so as long as he cares to remain. After the mourning period, marked by weeping and lamenting interspersed with drinking and feasting, the corpse, which has lain in a hammock slung from the rafters,

764 is sewn up in hides by the women (men may not touch a dead body) and carried to the cemetery of the tribe. For a year or so, the body may be temporarily consigned to a shallow grave marked by a pile of stones. Food and drink are often placed in the grave, and, if the deceased had been a warrior, his bows and arrows are put in. A year or two later the bones are exhumed and reburied in a large urn. The exhumation is generally done at night and is accompanied by a feast. The remains are carried in a funeral procession to the dead person's birthplace, where they are buried in the family's own cemetery. The funeral urn is placed in a vertical position with the narrow neck of the jar protruding above ground to permit the free entry and exit of the spirit and to allow the remains of other members of the family to be added from time to time. A cactus hedge surrounds the cemetery, and in wet weather half a calabash is placed over the opening of each jar to keep out the rain. Whenever two relatives of a recently deceased person meet, they bow to the ground, shouting and groaning, for several minutes. (For a slightly different account of the burial of a rich man, see Simons, 1885, p. 792.)

751 If a person is stricken with smallpox the whole tribe moves away, only the family of the sick person remaining. When the death occurs they bury the body below the floor and burn the hut over the grave.